





# Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

## Campaign Pamphlets & Tracts

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection



# LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor  
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FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

April 2, 1945

## AN EARLY 1860 CAMPAIGN PAMPHLET

There has come into the possession of the Lincoln National Life Foundation an item which may prove to be one of the most desirable Lincoln rarities. It is entitled, *Address of the Cameron and Lincoln Club of the City of Chicago, Illinois to the People of the North West*. It is 5½" x 8¾" and contains 8 pages. The article is signed by Fernando Jones as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Club. It was "published by order of the Club," by Charles V. Dyer, President, and Jo. W. Bell, Secretary.

This pamphlet apparently is the earliest of the 1860 campaign documents which proposed the name of Abraham Lincoln as a candidate at the Chicago Convention. It may also be recognized as the first pamphlet to present a biographical sketch of Mr. Lincoln.

Early in October 1859, an editorial appeared in the *Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Examiner*, proposing Simon Cameron for president on the 1860 Republican ticket. Later in the month Lincoln received a letter from W. E. Frazer, a Pennsylvania Republican, stating the purpose of the friends of Simon Cameron to sponsor his nomination at the forth-coming Republican Convention. Lincoln replied to Frazer's letter on November 1, 1859 and referred to the proposed Cameron-Lincoln ticket as follows:

"I shall be heartily for it, after it shall have been nominated by a Republican National Convention; and I cannot be committed to it before." To further clarify his position, Lincoln stated in the letter to Frazer, "I would not like the public to know, so I would not like myself to know, I had entered a combination with any man to the prejudice of all others whose friends respectively may consider them preferable."

The Pennsylvania editorial, suggesting Cameron and Lincoln as candidates, was reprinted and the circulars were distributed in Illinois. One Chicago paper in its issue of November 14, 1859 stated that the ticket should be reversed to read, Lincoln and Cameron.

The Cameron and Lincoln Club of the city of Chicago was organized late in the year 1859, or early in the month of January 1860. Fernando Jones, who had been chosen the chairman of the Executive Committee, wrote to Lincoln on January 10th asking for material for a brief sketch of his life. Lincoln replied five days later in these words:

Springfield, Jan. 15, 1860

"Fernando Jones, Esq.

"My dear Sir: Yours of the 10th was received two or three days ago; and being much engaged, I have postponed attending to it until now.

"Our Republican friend, J. W. Fell, of Bloomington, Illinois, can furnish you the material for a brief sketch of my history, if it be desired.

"I shall be happy to receive a letter from you at any time.

"Yours truly,

"A. Lincoln."

If Mr. Jones wrote Fell, as Lincoln suggested, for the autobiography of Lincoln and received it, he did not utilize the information. The biographical sketch in the Cameron-Lincoln pamphlet gives no evidence of having been composed from the Lincoln writing. There is a possibility that the pamphlet may have been published earlier than the correspondence, although it must have been printed later than December 21, 1859, as the pamphlet mentions the Chicago Convention which was not announced until the above date.

Here follows the more personal part of the Lincoln sketch which appears in the pamphlet:

"With the history of Mr. Lincoln and political record you are already familiar. He is a native of Kentucky, and

like Gen. Cameron, from the ranks of the people, the architect of his own fortune. He had not the advantages in his youth of either schools or colleges, yet through his own exertions has obtained a most liberal and thorough education.

"Mr. Lincoln is an able lawyer, and stands at the head of his profession in the central part of the State. For more than thirty years he has been a resident of Illinois, and although he has always taken an active part in politics, has never sought office.

"When elected to the House of Representatives of Illinois, and to the Congress of the United States in 1846, it was without effort on his part. During the existence of the Whig party, he was an active and leading member of that party in this State, following in the footsteps of the illustrious Clay, who declared in 1850, 'the Constitution neither created, nor does it continue Slavery,' and on the organization of the Republican party, united with it, and is now regarded as one of the ablest among the champions of freedom and free soil.

"In his canvass in 1858 with Judge Douglas for the U. S. Senatorship, he proved himself an able debater, and a profound statesman. He has the popular heart of Illinois. The purity of his life, the nobleness of his heart, the fervor of his eloquence, the honesty of purpose for which he is characterized, and the boldness with which he has ever battled for the right, and denounced the wrong, entitle him to the confidence and respect of the American people.

"He has always been distinguished for his conservatism, and patriotism, and it is meet that the Republican National Convention should honor the Republicans of the North-west by placing upon the ticket their representative man."

Norman Judd, who had largely been responsible for having Chicago selected as the convention city and one of the earliest of the ardent Lincoln supporters for the presidency, addressed the Cameron-Lincoln Club in Chicago on February 10, 1860. Whether or not he spoke to win supporters for himself in the governor's race, or attempted to have the Club turn their ticket about face, we are not advised.

An interesting sequel occurred to the Cameron-Lincoln enterprise. On February 25th Lincoln was passing through Philadelphia on his way to New York to speak at Cooper Institute. Someone in Philadelphia, who was apparently on the lookout for Lincoln, handed him the cards of Simon Cameron and David Wilmot. The day following, Lincoln, then in New York, sent the following letter to Cameron.

"New York, Feb. 26, 1860.

"Hon. Simon Cameron:

"Dear Sir

"I write this to say the card of yourself, and Hon. David Wilmot, was handed me yesterday at Philadelphia, just as I was leaving for this city—I barely had time to step over to the Girard, when I learned that you and he were not at your room—I regret that being so near, we did not meet, but hope we may yet meet before a great while—

"Will you please forward the enclosed to Mr. Wilmot, as I do not remember his address?—

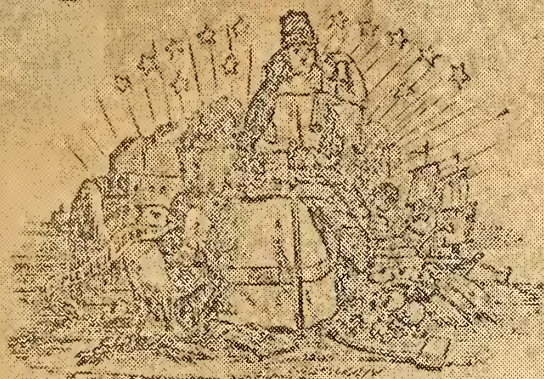
"Yours truly,  
"A. Lincoln."

The day after this letter was written Lincoln delivered his remarkable Cooper Institute speech which put him on the track for the presidency. Thereafter he was no longer willing to be considered for second place on the ticket of any candidate, but cherished for himself the honor which Cameron and others coveted.



*This Helped Elect Honest Abe*

# Republican Ticket.



FOR PRESIDENT,  
**ABRAHAM LINCOLN,**  
 OF ILLINOIS.  
 FOR VICE PRESIDENT,  
**HANNIBAL HAMLIN,**  
 OF MAINE.

Electors for President and Vice President of the  
 United States.

FREDERICK HASSAUREK, of Hamilton County,  
 JOSEPH M. ROOT, of Erie County.

1st District—	BENJAMIN EGGLESTON
2d	WILLIAM M. DICKSON.
3d	FRANK McWHINNEY.
4th	JOHN RILEY KNOX.
5th	DRESDEN W. H. HOWARD.
6th	JOHN M. KELLUM.
7th	NELSON RUSH.
8th	ABRAHAM THOMSON.
9th	JOHN F. HENKLE.
10th	HEZEKIAH S. BUNDY.
11th	DANIEL B. STEWART.
12th	RICHARD P. L. BABER.
13th	JOHN BEATTY.
14th	WILLARD SLOCUM.
15th	JOSEPH ANKENY.
16th	EDWARD BALL.
17th	JOHN A. DAVENPORT.
18th	WILLIAM K. UPHAM.
19th	SAMUEL B. PHILBRICK.
20th	GEORGE W. BROOKE.
	NORMAN K. MACKENZIE.

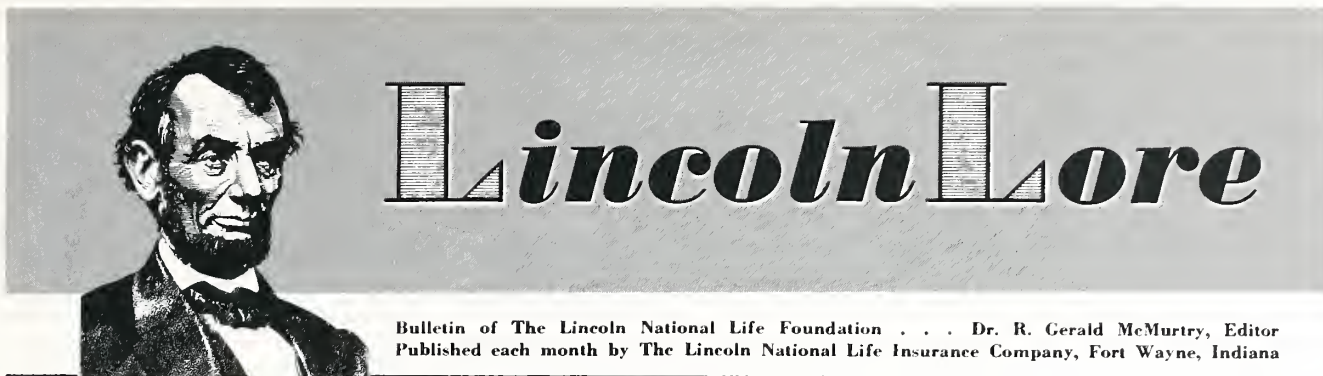
This is a ballot cast for Abraham Lincoln in 1860. It hangs in the office of Dr. Paul G. Moore in the Republic Building. The ballot was given to Dr. Moore by his father, David R. Moore, who got it when he was

10 and living at Reading, O., a suburb of Cincinnati. How the ballot escaped the fire to which such things usually are consigned is not known. But here it is—a vote for Abraham Lincoln and the G. O. P.

*Chas. C. & Co. 1860*







Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor  
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Number 1597

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

March, 1971

## Lincoln And Liberty !!! (A Political Tract)

Ten issues of a small political folder entitled *Lincoln and Liberty* published by the Young Men's Republican Union of the City of New York are to be found in the files of the Foundation. They are numbered and dated as follows:

Tract No. 1	June 19, 1860	
*Tract No. 2	June 26, 1860	M.62
Tract No. 3	July 3, 1860	
*Tract No. 4	July 11, 1860	M.63
*Tract No. 6	July 24, 1860	M.64
Tract No. 10	Aug. 21, 1860	
Tract No. 13	Sept. 11, 1860	
Tract No. 14	Sept. 18, 1860	
*Tract No. 15	Sept. 26, 1860	M.65
Tract No. 16	Oct. 2, 1860	

When Jay Monaghan compiled his *Lincoln Bibliography 1839-1939*, which was published in 1943, he included four of the above issues (note asterisk) in his two-volume work.

Tract No. 4, July 11, 1860 devotes over a column of its front page to the history of the Young Men's Republican Union under the title, "The Work In 1856":

"For the information of those who may not have been familiar with the

Young Men's Republican Union, and its labors, in 1856, (as the Fremont and Dayton Central Union,) the following brief statement may prove a matter of interest.

"The organization was perfected in the month of July, and during the entire campaign maintained the largest and best furnished political reading-room in the United States. Centrally located, in the Stuyvesant Institute, 659 Broadway, it was kept open day and night, and supplied with the leading papers from all parts of the country, and the various documents pertaining to the campaign. It was a favorite rendezvous of the Republicans of the city, and indeed of the whole country, and an important centre of influence in behalf the cause of Fremont and Freedom.

"During the season, some \$8,000, chiefly contributed by the officers and members of the Union, was spent in the printing and circulating of campaign documents. Over seven millions of pages of such, mostly prepared by a committee of the Union, were issued!

"The meetings, held weekly, under the auspices of the Union, were among

the largest, most enthusiastic, and influential of the campaign. In the month of October, forty active canvassers were sent into Pennsylvania, at the expense of the Union, and did much to promote the cause in that State. On the day of the election, booths for the ticket venders were provided in many of the wards of the city, and one hundred men were employed to guard them and the polls, while one hundred volunteers from the Union formed a vigilance committee for the same purpose.

"Such is a brief recapitulation of a few of the practical movements of the Union in 1856 'Of all the clubs of the city' said the *Tribune*, (Nov. 8th, 1856,) 'none has done more gallant service than this body of young men.'

"In 1860, under the banner of LINCOLN and HAMLIN, with the experience of a former campaign, and the hopeful attitude of the party, the Union enters the contest with the heartiest enthusiasm, and will endeavor to make its influence widely felt in behalf of Republican principles, and the election of the candidates of the Chicago Convention.

"The Reading-room of the Union is,

### Officers of the Union.

CHARLES T. RODGERS, *President*,  
DEXTER A. HAWKINS, *Vice-President*,  
ERASMUS STERLING, *Secretary*,  
WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN, *Treasurer*.

### Executive Committee.

CEPHAS BRAINERD, *Chairman*,  
BENJAMIN F. MANIERRE,  
CHARLES C. NOTT,  
FRANK W. BALLARD,  
THOMAS L. THORNELL,  
JAMES H. WELSH,  
E. C. JOHNSON,  
CHARLES H. COOPER,  
P. G. DEGRAW,  
LEWIS M. PECK.

**Young Men's Republican Union**  
Organized June, 1856,  
AS THE  
"FREMONT & DAYTON CENTRAL UNION."  
HEAD-QUARTERS,  
**STUYVESANT INSTITUTE,**  
659 BROADWAY, New York.

This organization was the first in the country to inscribe the name of LINCOLN on its banner, and the first to ratify the Chicago nominations in New York. It organized the first company of Wide-Awakes in the Empire State, and published and circulated 3,951,000 pages of Campaign documents, among which were the Illustrated Life of Lincoln, in German, and Mr. Lincoln's Cooper Institute Speech, with notes.

### Advisory Board.

WM. CULLEN BRYANT,  
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Hon. HIRAM BARNEY,  
Hon. WILLIAM V. BRADY,  
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EDGAR KETCHUM,  
GEORGE W. BLUNT,  
Hon. ABRAHAM MANN, JR.,  
HENRY A. HURLBUT.

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, LET US TO THE END DARE TO DO OUR DUTY, as we understand it."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The letter-head of the Young Men's Republican Union listing the officers, and members of the Executive Committee and Advisory Board.

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

# LINCOLN AND LIBERTY !!!

Tract No. 2.

New York, June 26th, 1860.



**For President,**  
**ABRAHAM LINCOLN,**  
*Of Illinois.*

**For Vice-President,**  
**HANNIBAL HAMLIN,**  
*Of Maine.*

ISSUED BY THE  
**Young Men's Republican Union,**  
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.  
Campaign Reading Room, Stuyvesant Institute, 659  
Broadway; open daily, from 8 A. M. to 11 P. M.

CHARLES T. RODGERS, PRESIDENT.  
DEXTER A. HAWKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT.  
ERASMUS STERLING, SECRETARY.  
WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN, TREASURER.

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Hiram Barney, James H. Wilson,  
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Hiram Barney, Horace Greeley,  
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John Jay, Edgar Ketchum,  
George W. Hunt, George Kelly,  
Henry A. Harbutt, George Folsom,  
Abijah Madsen, Jr., William Curtis Noyce,  
Francis Hall.

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and  
that faith, let us to the end, dare to do our duty, as we  
understand it."

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

THE HON. OWEN LOVEJOY

Will speak before the "Young Men's Republican  
Union," early in July.

The President of the "Young Men's Republican  
Union," of this city, has received the following  
letter from the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER:

"Washington, June 17, 1860.  
(Bunker Hill Day.)

My Dear Sir:—My desire has been strong from  
the beginning to address the Republican Young  
Men of New York, and I have not for a moment for-  
gotten the invitation with which at different times  
they have honored me. Your recent letter, repeat-  
ing the invitation, and the approaching adjourn-  
ment of Congress, seem at last to fix this oppor-  
tunity. As soon as Congress is  
adjourned I will let you know when I can be in  
New York.

Accept my thanks, and believe me, dear Sir,  
faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER."

## YOUNG MEN FOR LINCOLN.

It is an encouraging indication of the Campaign  
that the Young Men are rallying, in great numbers  
and with unbounded enthusiasm, to the support of  
"HONEST OLD ABE." Thousands who, in 1856,  
were deluded into the belief that MILLARD FILLMORE  
could be elected, are no longer willing to support  
a decoy ticket; besides, the Young Men have every  
confidence in the Illinois rail-splitter, knowing that  
one competent to raise himself from the humblest  
and most obscure, to the most elevated and influen-  
tial position in society, is fit to be entrusted with  
the reins of the government, and will not hold them  
amiss. LINCOLN is, emphatically, the choice of the  
Young Men, and their earnest enthusiasm will con-  
tribute largely to his inevitable success.

## INDIANA.

The Opposition press of this State seems to have  
wheeled into support of LINCOLN and HAMLIN with  
great unanimity. The Vincennes Gazette, the  
New Albany Gazette, the Fort Wayne Times, and  
the Evansville Journal, all Fillmore papers in  
1856, have come out heartily for LINCOLN and  
HAMLIN. The Terre Haute Express, which was a  
Fillmore paper for a short time in 1856, is now en-  
thusiastically out in support of the ticket. The  
Greencastle Banner, the Seymour Times and the  
Rising Sun Visitor, all Fillmore papers in 1856,  
will advocate LINCOLN. The Jeffersonville Republi-  
can is going for LINCOLN and HAMLIN.

The old German daily newspaper, the *Volksbote*,  
of Evansville, Indiana, which has been Democratic  
in politics from its first issue, has hoisted the names  
of LINCOLN and HAMLIN, and is doing battle valiantly  
for the Republican cause.

SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana, was, for the fifth  
time, nominated for Congress last week, in this  
wise: the whole district had come together in mass  
meeting, at Plymouth, devoting the whole day to  
it. One county delegation had splinters of rails in  
their hats; another bore an elaborate banner repre-  
senting the manner of rail-splitting; some carried  
big rails across their shoulders; and another delega-  
tion bore in a wagon an old weather-beaten eaves-  
trough heaved with an ax from a round log, as  
emblematic of pioneer life. Indeed, the variety of  
things was beyond description. After raising a tall  
liberty pole in the center, and running up the flag,  
the procession formed, a mile and-a-half long, and  
marched to an oak opening. The gavel of the pre-  
siding officer was a maul. But the people couldn't  
wait for ceremony, and hardly had a formal organ-  
ization been made when somebody shouted the  
name of SCHUYLER COLFAX! Another moved to  
amend that "we elect him by at least 4,000 major-  
ity, and give the same majority to the State and  
National tickets." The motion, as amended, pre-  
vailed, with loud, long, deafening cheers, which  
seemed to cause every leaf in the oak grove to  
tremble as if stirred by some mighty wind. Then  
they had their speeches and the *et ceteras* of the  
occasion. The people of the district are only just  
to themselves in sustaining in Congress, with such  
enthusiasm, a man who does himself, his State and  
the country such great credit as Mr. COLFAX. He  
is one of the most practically useful and able mem-  
bers of Congress in either side.

## "WHO IS LINCOLN?"

The ablest lawyer in Illinois, and the smartest cham-  
pion-speaker in the Union: an earnest and an honest  
man, who believes what he professes, and will  
carry out what he undertakes. Senator DOUGLASS.

(as in 1856,) at the Stuyvesant Insti-  
tute, 659 Broadway, and the regular  
meetings are held at that place on  
Tuesday evening of each week. The  
public are invited to attend."

On page three of Tract No. 2 is a  
short article titled, "The Prospect."  
As this projected outcome of the  
forthcoming presidential election is  
so remarkably accurate, it is reprint-  
ed as follows:

"From every section and through  
every channel, we have cheering ad-  
vices with regard to the Presidential  
canvass. Men of widely-diverse tradi-  
tions, prepossessions, and sympathies,  
concur in the assurance that the right  
chord has been touched, a substantial  
union of the Opposition secured, by  
the nomination of LINCOLN and  
HAMLIN. In no State that voted for  
Fremont and Dayton is there a seri-  
ous doubt of a Republican triumph in  
November. These give us 114 Elec-  
toral Votes, to which—Kansas being  
most unrighteously kept out—Minne-  
sota (a new State) will certainly add  
4, making 118. We shall need 34  
more to elect LINCOLN by the Peo-  
ple; and for these we shall have to  
look to the following States:

New Jersey ....	7	Indiana .....	13
Pennsylvania ..27		Illinois .....	11
Oregon .....	3		
In all .....			61

"Everyone of these we believe LIN-  
COLN and HAMLIN will carry, and  
we do not despair of adding Dela-  
ware to the list, making their Elec-  
toral Vote 178-125 for all others.

"Thus far, we have not counted on  
a division of our opponents, but as-  
sumed that they will put their best  
foot foremost and give us the best  
fight that is in them. If they divide,  
or stay divided, and run two rival  
tickets, the contest will be over be-  
fore it is fairly begun."

Fremont and Dayton did receive  
114 electoral votes in eleven states;  
namely,

Connecticut .....	6
Iowa .....	4
Maine .....	8
Massachusetts .....	13
Michigan .....	6
New Hampshire .....	5
New York .....	35
Ohio .....	23
Rhode Island .....	4
Vermont .....	5
Wisconsin .....	5

Lincoln and Hamlin in 1860 received  
180 electoral votes in eighteen states,  
carrying all the states that Fremont  
carried in 1856 plus New Jersey (4  
out of 7), Pennsylvania (27), Ore-  
gon (3), Indiana (13), Illinois (11),  
and Minnesota (4), just as predicted.  
However, Delaware (3), which the  
Young Republicans thought would go  
for Lincoln, fell to John C. Breckin-  
ridge, the Southern Democrat. Of  
course, the Lincoln ticket also re-  
ceived the electoral votes of Cali-

Free Speech. Free Press. Free Soil. Free Men.

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

All the issues of *Lincoln and Liberty!!!* are two columns wide (6½ by 12  
inches) except Tract No. 4 which is three columns in width and measures  
9¾ by 12 inches. M.62.

Freedom of Public Lands to Actual Settlers.



fornia (4), which made Lincoln's total 180.

The unknown political prophet thought that Lincoln would receive 178 electoral votes when he actually received 180, and he thought all others (Douglas, Bell and Breckinridge) would receive a total of 125, when in reality they received 123. The NBC computers would have been of little use in 1860.

### The Lincoln Imp

Collectors of Lincolniana are sometimes confronted with an odd object of art (brass or bisque) called the Lincoln Imp, which in reality has no connection with the Sixteenth President. The Foundation has collected two; one, a bisque figurine and the other, a brass door knocker.

The story of the Lincoln Imp can be traced to the Cathedral City of Lincoln, England. Located in a magnificent edifice in an area known as the Angel Choir, the Lincoln Imp in a secluded niche is a matter of interest for all those who visit the Cathedral.

The British Travel Association of London has had published an attractive folder on Lincoln, England with a brief history of the Cathedral:

"The Normans started to build their great Cathedral around 1074 when Bishop Remigius moved the seat of his Diocese (stretching from the Humber to the Thames) to Lincoln. The Norman work that was carried out under his direction and modified by Bishop Alexander, the third Bishop, can still be seen on the west front, surrounded by fine Early English arching.

"After losing its roof in a fire in 1141, the main structure of the Norman church fell in ruins as the result of an earth tremor in 1185. St.



Photograph taken from the booklet, *The Legend of the Lincoln Imp*, by H. J. Kesson.

The original Lincoln Imp located in the Lincoln Cathedral, in an area described as the Angel Choir which takes its name from the thirty stone figures of angels high up in the triforium.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A bisque figurine and a brass door knocker depicting the Lincoln Imp which are a part of the Foundation's museum collection.

Hugh (1186-1200) began rebuilding the Cathedral from a central point to the east end, starting with St. Hugh's Choir. Later when the nave was completed and joined to the Norman west front, the alignment of the vault was slightly out of true. This irregularity can be seen clearly by looking back along the nave from the choir screen. From the same point the two glorious round stained glass windows of the transepts, known as the 'Dean's Eye' and 'Bishop's Eye', can be admired. The 'Dean's Eye' in the north transept dates from 1225. The flowing tracery of the 'Bishop's Eye' is 14th century and includes early glass arranged in a random pattern.

"In the mid-13th century the apsidal east end of the choir was removed so that the Cathedral could be enlarged to accommodate St. Hugh's shrine. Known as the Angel Choir, this extension takes its name from the thirty stone figures of angels high up in the triforium. The well-known Lincoln Imp, a small grotesque figure, is found here.

"The magnificent central Tower (271 feet) was finished circa 1311. Originally it was crowned by a lofty spire of wood and lead which brought its total height to 525 feet. The Wren Library was added in the 17th century and contains many first editions and other treasures. One of the four remaining original copies of Magna Carta is kept in the Cathedral Treasury."

For those who visit the Lincoln Cathedral there is available for sale a little booklet entitled *The Legend of the Lincoln Imp*, first published in 1904 and which has gone into twenty-six editions up to 1967. The legend

was written by H. J. Kesson. The publication also contains illustrative cuts of the Cathedral, the Angel Choir (with an arrow pointing to the location of the Lincoln Imp) and a close-up view of the Imp from a photograph by S. Smith.

Those readers of *Lincoln Lore* who visit Lincoln, England, to see the Lincoln Imp, should remember that even before the Romans came to Lincoln and set up a military garrison in A.D. 48 the site of the city was occupied and known as *Lindon* ("hill fort by the pool"). Later it became a walled town and was given the status of a *colonia*, a chartered town in which legionary soldiers were settled on retirement. The Roman name *Lindum Colonia* became shortened to *Lincoln*. So the name Lincoln was a place name first and afterwards it became a sur-name, particularly for those families (Abraham Lincoln was a descendant) who moved to other English cities, counties or colonies beyond the sea.

### Mrs. A. Lincoln — A Needlewoman

In the archives of the Lincoln Library-Museum is a letter written by M. Lincoln (Mary Harlan), the wife of Robert T. Lincoln, dated September 3, 1920, in which she described her mother-in-law as "a beautiful needlewoman."

The letter, addressed to "My dear Miss Jackson," was in answer to one received on August 20th. Miss Jackson sent a little garment for Mrs. Lincoln to see, and she wrote in reply, "I have no doubt whatever that it was made by Mrs. A. Lincoln, for she was a beautiful needlewoman — I think the Gurleys must prize it highly! We have several specimens of her handiwork — the most interesting perhaps is a little linen shirt, made for my husband before he was born! And you know when ladies sewed at night in those days, it was by Candlelight."

Another interesting bit of information in Mary Harlan Lincoln's letter is her mention of the Lincoln portrait by G. P. A. Healy. She wrote: "The portrait of President Lincoln which is hanging in our hall in Washington, was painted by Healey (*sic*), and we think it the best likeness in existence."

### Legal Rarity

It was known when Richard M. Nixon became chief that 3 former presidents were living: Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Lyndon B. Johnson, total 4 presidents. Generally unknown was the unique situation existing after A. Lincoln's 1861 inauguration: 5 living former presidents: Martin Van Buren (1782-1862), John Tyler (1790-1862), Millard Fillmore (1800-1874), Franklin Pierce (1804-1869), James Buchanan (1791-1868).



## CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY 1969-1970

Selections approved by a Bibliography Committee consisting of the following members: Dr. Kenneth A. Bernard, Boston University, 725 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.; Arnold Gates, 289 New Hyde Park Rd., Garden City, N. Y.; Carl Haverlin, 8619 Louise Avenue, Northridge, California; James T. Hickey, Illinois State Historical Library, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois; E. B. (Pete) Long, 607 S. 15th St., Laramie, Wyoming; Ralph G. Newman, 18 E. Chestnut St., Chicago, Illinois; Hon. Fred Schwengel, 404 Union Arcade Bldg., Davenport, Iowa; Dr. Wayne C. Temple, 821½ S. 5th St., Springfield, Illinois. New items available for consideration may be sent to the above persons, or to the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

## 1969

## LOW, ALICE

1969-41

Teacher's Guide/Folk Songs/and/Abraham Lincoln/Written by Alice Low/Music Consultant—Jane Beethoven/Warren Schloot/Productions, Inc./ (Device) / A Prentice-Hall Company [Copyright 1969 by Warren Schloot Productions, Inc., Pleasantville, New York 10570.]

Pamphlet, 11" x 8½" 13 pp. (accompanies two records and two filmstrips "Folk Songs and Abraham Lincoln")

## LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION 1969-42

Lincoln Lore/Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor/Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana/Number 1571, January 1969 to Number 1582, December 1969.

Folder, paper, 11" x 8½", 4 pp., illus. Number 1571, March 4, 1861 (A Newly Discovered Lincoln Letter), January 1969; Number 1572, Lincoln's Promotion of John L. Worden, February 1969; Number 1573, "President Lincoln Writing The Proclamation of Freedom, January 1, 1863," March 1969; Number 1574, Some Early Lithographs of Abraham Lincoln, April 1969; Number 1575, Lincoln Visited By A German Delegation of Workmen in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 12, 1861, May 1969; Number 1576, Most Significant Lincoln Cartoons—February 1969, June 1969; Number 1577, Was Thomas Lincoln Photographed?, July 1969; Number 1578, Places . . . Where Lincoln Lived and Visited, August 1969; Number 1579, Lincoln's Law Offices in The Tinsley Building, September 1969; Number 1580, The Hardin Thomas House, October 1969; Number 1581, Lincolniana Bookplates, November 1969; Number 1582, Index for 1969, December 1969.

## 1970

## BERNARD, KENNETH A.

1970-18

Abraham Lincoln/The Song in his/Heart/Kenneth A. Bernard/Boston University/Achille J. St. Onge/Worcester, Massachusetts 1970 [Published by Achille J. St. Onge] (Edition limited to 1500.)

Miniature Book, 2½" x 2½", green leather, 23 pp., illus., price, \$6.00.

## ELLIOT, IAN

1970-19

Abraham Lincoln/1809-1865/Chronology-Documents-Bibliographical Aids/Edited by/Ian Elliot/Series Editor/Howard F. Bremer/1970/Oceana Publications, Inc./Dobbs Ferry, New York [Copyrighted 1970 by Oceana Publications, Inc.]

Book, cloth, 9¼" x 6¼", 144 pp., price, \$5.00.

## FOSTER, GENEVIEVE

1970-20

Year of/Lincoln/1861/by Genevieve Foster/Charles Scribner's Sons New York [Copyrighted 1970 by Genevieve Foster] (with illustrations by the author)

Brochure, leatherette, 9½" x 6¾", 64 pp., illus., price, \$4.50. (Juvenile.)

## FRIEND, HENRY C.

1970-21

Abraham Lincoln's/Commercial Practice/A series of articles/by Henry C. Friend of Milwaukee, Wisconsin/1970, No. 1/(Copyright) 1970 by the Commercial Law Foundation./A nonprofit membership corporation, incorporated in the State of New York,/with tax exempt status, as a charitable and educational organization/under Section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Pamphlet, flexible boards 9" x 6", 28 pp., illus.

## LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

1970-22

Lincoln Herald/Index/Vol. 71/Spring, 1969 through Winter, 1969/Compiled by Gary R. Planck/Edited by/Wayne C. Temple/Lincoln Memorial University Press/Harrogate, Tennessee/1970. [Cover title]

Pamphlet, paper, 10½" x 7½", 12 pp.

## LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

1970-23

Lincoln Memorial University Press/Fall, 1970, Vol. 72, No. 3/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education. [Harrogate, Tennessee.]

Pamphlet flexible boards, 10½" x 7½", 85-140 pp., illus., price per single copy, \$1.50.

## LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION 1970-24

Lincoln Lore/Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor/Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana/Number 1883, January 1970 to Number 1594, December 1970.

Folder, paper, 11" x 8½", 4 pp., illus. Number 1583, The Atlantic Monthly Fiasco, January 1970; Number 1584, Business Directory Springfield, Illinois 1860, February 1970; Number 1585, Recent Library-Museum Acquisitions, March 1970; Number 1586, Most Significant Lincoln Cartoons—Feb. 1970, April 1970; Number 1587, The Helm-Haycraft Collection of Kentucky Manuscripts, May 1970; Number 1588, Bracker's Charcoal Drawings, June 1970; Number 1589, The Soldiers' Home, The Lincolns' Summer Retreat, July 1970; Number 1590, Lincoln And His Family, August 1970; Number 1591, Ephemeral Political Emblems, September 1970; Number 1592, The Patton House, Elizabethtown, Kentucky, October 1970; Number 1593, A Convivial Card Game, November 1970; Number 1594, Index for 1970, December 1970.

## ROCHE, A. K.

1970-25

. . . even the promise of freedom/in the words of Abraham Lincoln edited and designed by A. K. Roche/Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. [Copyright 1970 by A. K. Roche]

Brochure, cloth, 11¼" x 8¾", (32) pp., illus., price, \$4.75. (The words of Lincoln are in italics throughout.)

## SANDBURG, CARL

1970-26

Reader's Digest/Illustrated Edition/Abraham Lincoln/The Prairie Years and The War Years/Carl Sandburg/The Reader's Digest Association/Pleasantville, New York/The Reader's Digest Association Ltd./Montreal, Canada [Published by arrangement with Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Copyright 1970 by The Reader's Digest Association, Inc. and by The Reader's Digest Association (Canada) Ltd.]

Book, fabrikoid, 10½" x 8½", xiii p., 640 pp., illus., incl. index, price, \$9.98.

## SIMMONS, DAWN LANGLEY

1970-27

A Rose for/Mrs. Lincoln/A Biography of/Mary Todd Lincoln/By Dawn Langley Simmons/Beacon Press Boston [Copyright by Dawn Langley Simmons 1970]

Book, stiff boards and cloth, 9¼" x 6¼", Fr., ix p., 197 pp., illus., price, \$8.50.

## WILEY, EARL WELLINGTON

1970-28

Abraham Lincoln:/Portrait of A Speaker/Earl Wellington Wiley/Vantage Press/New York Washington Hollywood [First Edition/Copyright 1970, by Earl Wellington/Published by Vantage Press/New York]

Book, fabrikoid, 8¼" x 5¾", Fr., Fd., 573 pp., illus., price \$7.50.

## WOLF, WILLIAM J.

1970-29

Lincoln's Religion/William J. Wolf/Pilgrim Press/Philadelphia Boston [Copyright 1959, 1963 and 1970 by William J. Wolf]

Paperback Edition, 7" x 4¼" 219 pp., price, \$1.95.

## WOOD, HARRY

1970-30

The Faces of Abraham/Lincoln by/Harry/Wood/Paintings,/Sculptures,/Drawings and/Photomontages/With an /Introductory Essay/and Notes by the Artist/The University Art Collections/Arizona State University/Tempe, Arizona/September 13—November 1, 1970 [Copyright 1970 by Harry Wood]

Book, flexible boards, 10¾" x 8¼", 88 pp., illus., price, \$6.95.

## WOOD, HARRY

1970-30a

The Faces of Abraham/Lincoln/by/Harry/Wood/ Paintings,/Sculptures/Drawings and/Photomontages/ With an/Introductory Essay/and Notes by the Artist/The University Art Collections/Arizona State University /Tempe, Arizona/September 13—November 1, 1970 [Copyright 1970 by Harry Wood]

Book, stiff boards, 11" x 8¾", 88 pp., illus., price, \$12.50.

## WRIGHT, JOHN S.

1970-31

Lincoln &/the Politics/of Slavery/By John S. Wright/ University of Nevada Press/Reno, Nevada 1970 [Copyright 1970 by the University of Nevada Press]

Book, cloth, 9¼" x 6¼", ix p., 215 pp., price, \$6.00.





# Lincoln Lore

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Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the  
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May, 1979

Number 1695

## LINCOLN AND WASHBURNE

Though historians have praised President Lincoln's skilled handling of Congress, their discussions of the subject are usually confined to the Cabinet crisis of 1862 and to his abilities to handle difficult personalities like Charles Sumner's. The President's relations with the House of Representatives have been little explored. The tendency to think of Lincoln as a "Whig in the White House," to borrow the language of David Donald's famous essay on Lincoln's theory of the Presidency, reinforces the lack of interest in this question. The Whig theory of the Presidency, after all, dictated that the President simply enforce the will of Congress, use the veto sparingly, and — as Lincoln explained the theory in the election of 1848 — not even force a party platform on the country. A President following such a policy would not "handle" Congress at all. The best student of the Civil War Congress, Leonard P. Curry, concludes that Congress made considerable inroads on executive power during Lincoln's Presidency, though there was nothing like the achievement of Congressional dominance that would come in the Johnson years that followed the Civil War.

Whether this view of the decline of executive power *vis-a-vis* Congress in the Civil War years is true or not, its effect has been to stifle curiosity about Lincoln's friends in Congress. He did have friends there, and two notable examples were Isaac N. Arnold and Elihu B. Washburne. Arnold was not only a great partisan of Lincoln's cause but also an early Lincoln biographer. Yet it is almost impossible to find published material on this Illinois Congressman.

Elihu B. Washburne, if he had a less direct relationship with Lincoln than Arnold, had a longer and more significant career in Congress, and he was close enough to President Lincoln to merit considerable attention.

Washburne was born in Maine in 1816. He was named Elihu Benjamin Washburn but added an "e" to his last name in order to revert to what he thought was the proper spelling of the name among his English ancestors. This has caused some confusion because he had two brothers, Cadwallader and Israel Washburn, who also became prominent in American politics. Although they did not spell their last names identically, these three brothers became a powerful force in American politics. In fact, the Wash-

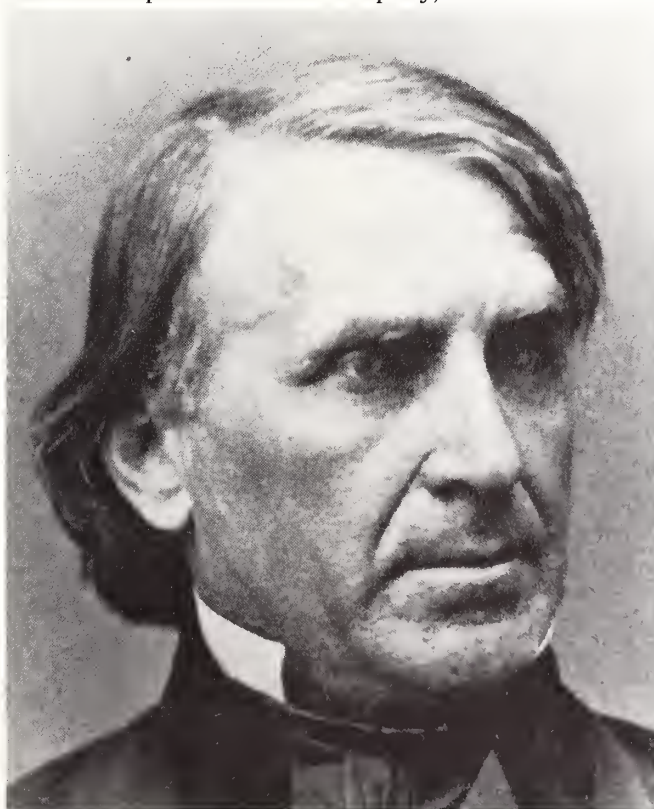
burns hold the distinction of being the only family to have three brothers in the same Congress representing three different states.

After various attempts to find a career, Washburne attended the Harvard Law School, became a member of the Massachusetts bar, and moved to the Illinois lead-mining boomtown of Galena in 1840. A Henry Clay Whig, Washburne met Lincoln the very year he moved to Galena. It was the year of the great log cabin campaign for William Henry Harrison. Their closest association, however, came at the time of the formation of the Republican party and after.

Washburne was elected to the first of eight consecutive terms in the United States House of Representatives in 1852. He was then still a Whig, but he was among the earliest converts to the Republican cause. As early as November of 1854, he could boast to Lincoln that every representative and senator sent to the state legislature from his northern Illinois district was a Republican, and this was almost two years before Lincoln would embrace that new party label. Washburne shared with Lincoln an animosity to the Know-Nothing party, which was at the time the principal competitor of the

Republicans for anti-Democratic voters. In 1854, for example, he helped carry an amendment to the homestead law which allowed those aliens who had declared their intention to become American citizens to acquire public lands in the same way full-fledged citizens did.

Washburne was a staunch supporter of Lincoln's drive to win a seat in the United States Senate in 1855. He and his friends saw every member of the state legislature from his district (the state legislatures still chose the United States Senators), and he told Lincoln how each man was leaning. He warned the candidate: "We are pretty ultra on the slave question . . . and you will have to take pretty high ground." Washburne worked to gain Free Soil support for Lincoln. He suggested that Lincoln write a letter describing his positions on the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the admission of new slave states, and other aspects of the great slavery question which Washburne thought would override all others. He offered to show the letter to Salmon Chase and to get Chase to write Free Soilers in Illinois



From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Elihu B. Washburne.



on Lincoln's behalf. Washburne himself saw Joshua Giddings, found him to be Lincoln's "strongest possible friend," and reported Giddings's willingness to "walk clear to Illinois to elect" Lincoln. Giddings wrote Illinois's most successful radical antislavery politician, Owen Lovejoy, twice to urge support for Lincoln's candidacy.

Washburne was an experienced politician, and, when he saw trouble brewing, he reported it. He told Lincoln of one influential friend in his district who opposed Lincoln's candidacy because Springfield's political influence had always been used against the interests of the northern part of the state. Thus an astonished Lincoln had to deal with the perennial sectionalism that plagued Illinois politics. "For a Senator to be the impartial representative of his whole State," Lincoln thundered in his reply, "is so plain a duty, that I pledge myself to the observance of it without hesitation; but not without some mortification that any one should suspect me of an inclination to the contrary." For eight years a Representative of Sangamon County in the legislature, Lincoln, "in a conflict of interests between that and other counties," would have felt a "duty to stick to Old Sangamon," but he could not recall any such conflict with members from the northern part of the state. He could recollect only "co-operating on measures of policy." The Illinois-Michigan Canal "was then the great Northern measure, and it, from first to last, had our votes as readily as the votes of the North itself."

Washburne had the politician's gift for turning a man's trouble to party advantage. One member of the legislature, Wait Talcott, was "in the biggest kind of a lawsuit for an alleged infringement of a patent." Washburne advised Talcott's agent to seek Lincoln's services in the case. If Talcott did so, Washburne was sure it would "be a good pull on him" to support Lincoln for Senator.

Washburne's and Lincoln's efforts failed in 1855, of course, and in 1858, when Lincoln tried again to reach the Senate, Washburne was again in Lincoln's camp. But now there was a complicating factor. Although Washburne was an early and dedicated Republican, he felt keenly that the party was "not so large but what it will hold a few more." He supported Lincoln's candidacy, but he had expressed a hope that Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's opponent, might become a Republican. Douglas had broken with the Democratic Buchanan administration over Kansas policy, and Washburne for a time thought the break decisive for Douglas's future loyalties. Lincoln, on the other hand, was nervous about talk from Eastern Republicans that the party in Illinois ought to let Douglas retain his seat unopposed. He did not trust Douglas, and this strategy would squeeze Lincoln out of any hopes for a Senate seat. Rumors of Washburne's shaky position on the Senate contest made Lincoln's supporters anxious. On April 28, 1858, Washburne told William Herndon that he could not "see the wisdom of abusing" Douglas, "as matters stand now." Four days later he was writing Lincoln much the same thing, explaining, though, that he "had no idea of making him Senator or making him a leader." As for the "idea . . . industriously circulated in our State, that the republicans outside the State were wanting to sell us out in Illinois," Washburne assured Lincoln from his Washington vantage point that "such stuff ought not to be believed for a moment." On May 15th Lincoln expressed himself as "quite satisfied" that Washburne had done no wrong. He was willing "that the matter may drop." By May 31st Washburne was reporting that Douglas had "ceased associating with our folks, but is very thick with the other side. He is understood to repudiate all sympathy with republicans and desires no support from them."

Washburne found Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 "so unexpected we could hardly believe it," but, as a member of the Republican Executive Congressional Committee for the campaign, he promised to "devote my whole soul and energies to the campaign." Interestingly enough, he reported that Stephen Douglas thought the choice of Lincoln "the strongest that could have been made." Like many others, Congressman Washburne immediately advised the candidate to "keep very quiet and out of the way as much as possible."

Washburne's residence in the Capital made him an especially valuable reporter for Lincoln. In May he informed the candidate that "Pennsylvanians of American [i.e., Know-Nothing] proclivities are some what troubled" by the planks in the Republican platform which affirmed the rights of immigrants. They had appealed to Washburne to suggest that

Lincoln's letter accepting the nomination "say nothing about the platform, so they can support you without committing themselves to those planks." Washburne asserted that "we must have" the American element in that state; he thought the request "worth considering." Lincoln ignored the advice.

In Congress, Washburne was more a doer than an orator, but on May 29th he delivered a speech, later widely reprinted as *Abraham Lincoln, His Personal History and Public Record*. Washburne admitted that it "was hastily got up," but he thought it "necessary . . . that your record while in Congress should be brought out in answer to the misrepresentations already made." A full page of the eight-page pamphlet explained that Lincoln voted in favor of supplies and land bounties for soldiers even though he opposed the Mexican War. The Republican Congressional Committee printed the speech and made it available for fifty cents per hundred. Copies of it were among the 40,000 speeches and documents (on the average) which the Committee distributed at the height of the campaign in the fall (the documents were franked by the Congress's free-mailing privilege, a form of Federal funding of election campaigns in Lincoln's day). The Committee was inexhaustible in its attentions to voters. One of Washburne's letters introduced Lincoln to one H.P. Scholte, an Iowan of Dutch descent, who had been in Washington translating Republican campaign materials into Dutch.

As election day approached, Washburne, who adhered to the philosophy that "there is no telling who will be governor

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN, His Personal History and Public Record.

### SPEECH

OF

## HON. E. B. WASHBURNE, OF ILLINOIS.

Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, May 29, 1860.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Republican party, through its proper organization, has placed in nomination for President of the United States, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois. The people, who will be called upon to pass upon that nomination, have a right to inquire into the life, the character, and the political opinions, of the man who is commended to their suffrages for the highest office in their gift. The State which I in part represent on this floor, having been honored by this nomination, I come here to-day to speak of the personal and political history of the candidate. I have known Mr. Lincoln well for twenty years. I have known him in private life, I have known him at the bar, and have been associated with him in every political contest in our State since the advent of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," in 1840. While I may speak with the accents of a strong personal friendship, I shall speak with the frankness of a conscious truth, and, I trust, without exaggeration.

Springing from the humblest ranks in life, and ennobled by the adventitious supports of family or wealth, Mr. Lincoln has reached his present exalted position by the strength of his will, the power of his intellect, and the honesty of his heart. He was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, February 12, 1809; his family removed to Spencer county, Indiana, in 1816, where he passed his boyhood amid the roughest hardships and the most trying experiences of a frontier life. Without schools, and almost without books, he spent his time amid the wild and romantic scenes of the border, alleviating the hard labors of the farm by the sport of the huntsmen. Of fine physical development, with a vigorous intellect, quick intelligence, ready wit, and genial character, he gave early evidences of the superiority he has since attained. His first advent into the great world, from the comparative seclusion of his frontier home, was down the Wabash and

Ohio rivers in charge of a flat-boat, of a class known to all the old river men of the West as "Broad-horns." These boats, laden with the productions of the farmers, floated down stream until a market was found for the cargo; and when that was disposed of, the boat itself was sold, and those in charge made their way back, in the best manner they could, to their homes. A great many persons have heard Mr. Lincoln relate, with inimitable effect, the anecdotes of his experience of that portion of his life.

In 1830, Mr. Lincoln emigrated to that State, with which his great name has now become historically couched. He passed the first year in Macon county, and actively labored on a farm, where he had a fellow-laborer, by the name of John Hanks, split three thousand rails. This portion of the history of Mr. Lincoln's life gave rise to the incident in the late Republican State Convention at Decatur, in Macon county, which awakened the intensest enthusiasm of that vast concourse of citizens from all parts of the State. Mr. Lincoln was present as a spectator in that Convention, and was invited to take a seat upon the platform. When he had taken his seat, it was announced to the Convention that John Hanks, no old Democrat, who had grown gray in the service of that party, desired to make a contribution to the Convention; and the offer being accepted, forthwith two old-time fence rails, decorated with flags and streamers, were borne through the crowd into the Convention, bearing the inscription:

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

THE RAIL CANDIDATE

FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860.

Two rails from a lot of 3,000 made in 1830 by John Hanks and Abe Lincoln.

The effect was electrical. One spontaneous burst of applause went up from all parts of the "wigwam." Of course, Mr. Lincoln was called out, and made an explanation of the matter. He

PUBLISHED BY THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. PRICE 50 CENTS PER HUNDRED.

From the Louis A. Warren  
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FIGURE 2. This Dutch translation of Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address, perhaps the work of F. P. Scholte, was an 1860 campaign document. It is the only Dutch title listed for 1860 in Jay Monaghan's *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939*.



Start bill May 16 1905 NO 1

De Republikeinsche Party verdedigt enz.

# REDEVOERING

VAN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

IN HET COOPER INTITUUT: FEBRUARY 27, 1860.

Mr. President's en Medewerkers van New York:

De daadzaken waarmede ik my dezes avond zal bezig houden zijn meestal ont en bekend, ook is er niets nieuws in het gebruik dat ik er van zal maken. Indien er eenige nieuwheid in is, het zal zijn de manier om de daadzaken te voorstellen, en de gevolgtrekkingen en opmerkingen die uit deze voorstelling voortvloeien.

Senator Douglas zeide, in zyne redevoering laatste herfst, te Columbus, in Ohio, als opgegeven in de "Nieuw York Times."

"Onze vaders, toen zy het Gouvernement vormden waaronder wy leven, verstonden dit vraagstuk juist zoo goed, en zelfs beter als wy tegenwoordig doen."

Ik stem dit ten volle toe, en neem het aan als een text voor deze redevoering. Ik doe dit omdat het een juist en door beiden erkend aanvangspunt levert voor een verhandeling der Republikeinen en die vloed van de Democratie aangevoerd door Senator Douglas. Het laat een rondig het onderzoek over. "Hoe verstonden die vaders het vermaakte vraagstuk?"

Wat is het grondwerk van het Gouvernement waaronder wy leven? Het antwoord moet zijn: "De Constitutie der Verenigde Staten." Die Constitutie bestaat uit de oorspronkelijke, opgesteld in 1787 (en waaronder het tegenwoordige Gouvernement het eerst in werking trad), en twaalf daarna gemaakte verbeteringen, waarvan de tien eerste gemaakt werden in 1789.

Wie waren onze vaders die de Constitutie maakten? Ik veronderstel de 39 die het oorspronkelijke stuk tekenden moogen met recht onze vaders genoemd worden die dat gedeelte van ons tegenwoordig Gouvernement ontwierpen. Het is volkomen waar niet alleen dat zy getrouw vertegenwoordigden het denkbeeld en gevoel van het gehele volk ter dier tyd. Hanne algemeen bekende namen beboeven nu niet te worden herhaald. Ik neem dan deze 39 voor het tegenwoordig ge als onze vaders die het Gouvernement ontworpen waaronder wy nu leven. Wat is nu het vraagstuk het welk volgens de text, deze vaders juist zoo goed, en zelfs beter verstonden, dan wy nu doen?

Het is dit: Verhied een juiste verdeling tusschen plaatselyk en federaal gezag, ofsets in de Constitutie aan ons Gouvernement het beheer in betrekking tot Slaverny in ons Federaal Grondgebied?

Hierop antwoord Douglas bevestigend en de Republikeinen ontkennend. Dit vormt het verschil, en dit verschil, dit vraagstuk, is juist dat geene wat de text verklaard dat onze

From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Washburne's campaign speech for Lincoln.

till after the election," was not overconfident, but he warned Lincoln that he would be "utterly overrun" with office-seekers if he won. And the Illinois Congressman, though "reluctant to be among . . . the crowd," did say that he would like to see Lincoln too. He did so on November 12th and "found Old Abe in fine spirits and excellent health, and quite undisturbed by the blusterings of the disunionists and traitors." When he returned to Washington, Washburne found that "secession feeling has assumed proportions of which I had but a faint conception," and he told Lincoln that "our friends generally in the west are not fully apprised of the imminent peril which now environs us." Washburne expressed Congress's feelings for "conciliation but firmness" and called for "masterly inactivity."

Washburne's hopes rose and fell, but, in general, he sensed that real trouble was brewing. Having had some acquaintance with Winfield Scott when he was the Whig candidate for President in 1852, Washburne was now able to see the old general in Washington and keep Lincoln, who was still in Springfield, in touch with the crisis over Federal forts in the South and later with the security measures for the city and Lincoln's inauguration. He gave Lincoln advice: not to compromise on the platform, to procure a private secretary who would not sell his influence and who knew etiquette and French, and to stay in a private residence in Washington before the inauguration. He opposed Simon Cameron's appointment to the Cabinet vigorously.

Early in January, Washburne became alarmed about a conspiracy to seize the Capital and prevent the inauguration. With William Seward and two other members of Congress, Washburne employed two New York detectives to investigate the rumors of conspiracies. He referred to them in later letters as "our friends from N.Y.," and expressed great fears about

the state of opinion in Baltimore. Washburne's fears calmed late in January but rose again early in February. He was in the end the only man on the platform when Lincoln came into Washington secretly for his inauguration.

Unfortunately for the historian, once Washburne and Lincoln were together in Washington, the correspondence between them decreased in frequency and importance. They no longer had to discuss political matters by mail. As a Congressman, Washburne became the particular champion of fellow Galena townsman Ulysses S. Grant. He saw to everything for General Grant's career from military promotions to the coining of celebratory medals. His loyalty knew no limits. When Grant issued his infamous Order No. 11 banning "Jews, as a class" from the Department of the Tennessee late in 1862, Lincoln eventually received so many protests that he revoked it. Washburne protested Lincoln's revocation, saying that he considered "it the wisest order yet made by a military Command." For a period in 1863, Washburne accompanied Grant on campaigns and gave a wonderful portrait of that colorful and dedicated soldier. His "entire baggage consists of a tooth brush," Washburne said. A thirteen-year-old boy carried the general's sword. He had no servant, no blanket, no overcoat, and no clean shirt.

In Congress, Washburne loyally supported the administration's war effort. His view of the task was simple. As he expressed it after the Battle of Bull Run, "We will whip the traitors yet. Their barbarities towards our wounded will arouse a spirit of vengeance which will not be appeased till their leaders are all hung and their followers are driven into the gulf." He voted with the more zealous Republicans and was a tough man in a floor battle. When Congressmen debated the bill to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia in the spring of 1862, Washburne knew who had the votes to win: "If gentlemen of the other side offer amendments, let us hear them, and then vote them down." Like fellow Illinois Congressman Isaac Arnold, Washburne was



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FIGURE 4. Washburne's favorite general, U. S. Grant.



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Numerous Speeches and Documents not included in the foregoing will be published for distribution, and persons willing to trust the discretion of the Committee can remit their orders with the money, and have them filled with the utmost promptitude, and with the best judgment as to price and adaptation to the locality where the Speeches are to be sent.

Printed by L. Towers for the Union Congressional Committee.

FIGURE 5. Washburne's committee franked speeches on this list by the thousands in 1864. Washburne did not include a speech of his own on the list, but other members of the committee did. The committee sent circulars and speeches to Republican groups. On the backs of the speeches, they advertised other available speeches. One of these lists is pictured here.

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an ardent supporter of the bill to make the old Illinois and Michigan Canal of Whig days a ship canal connecting the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes.

Washburne was among the earliest to seek Lincoln's commitment to run for reelection, asking him to "let some of your confidential friends know your wishes" as early as October of 1863. He was a member of the Union Executive Congressional Committee for the campaign and once again franked thousands of speeches and documents. He even assessed Lincoln's Cabinet members \$250 each for the circulation of documents. He became quite alarmed at the state of opinion in his home state and repeatedly pleaded with the President to furlough Illinois soldiers to vote in the election. He acted as an intermediary with Grant when Lincoln wished to use a letter from Grant for campaign purposes. The general replied to Washburne's inquiry that Lincoln could use "anything I have ever written to him as he sees fit," but added: "I think however for him to attempt to answer all the charges the opposition will bring against him will be like setting a maiden to work to prove her chastity."

Like others of Lincoln's friends in Congress, Washburne is a figure badly in need of a biography. The sketch of his career here is suggestive of his importance and of the illumination such a biography would bring to our understanding of the Sixteenth President.

*Editor's Note:* This article is based on the following letters from Washburne to Lincoln in the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress: December 19, 1854; December 26, 1854; January 17, 1855; May 2, 1858; May 31, 1858; May 19, 1860; May 20, 1860; May 30, 1860; December 9, 1860; January 6, 1863; and May 1, 1863. Grant's letter to Washburne about Lincoln's use of his letters is also in that collection (September 21, 1864).

## LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHED DEBATES: STEPHEN T. LOGAN COPY

Many would say that this, the sixth article in a series on the presentation copies of the *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois*, should have been the first. The copy presented to the "Hon. S.T. Logan, From his friend A. Lincoln" is the only known copy signed in ink. Harry Pratt, who published the first survey of these famous books in *Manuscripts* in the summer of 1954, and Charles Hamilton, the famous manuscript dealer, believed that this was very likely the first copy Lincoln gave away. Their theory was that Lincoln discovered when he signed this book that the soft paper caused the ink to smear and thereafter inscribed the copies in pencil.

Stephen Trigg Logan was Lincoln's second law partner and a lifelong friend. Of those who received the known presentation copies, Logan was by far the most closely associated with Lincoln. If he gave copies to David Davis or to John G. Nicolay, for example, they have never come to light.

The Logan copy was in the hands of the Logan family until 1946. Logan's great-granddaughter, Martha Coleman Bray, received the book at the death of her father. He was Christopher Bush Coleman, the son of Lewis Harrison Coleman, who married Stephen T. Logan's daughter Jennie. She sold it to William H. Townsend, a noted Lincoln collector and author from Lexington, Kentucky. Townsend at one time owned two presentation copies of the *Debates*, the Logan copy and the copy given to Job Fletcher. In 1953 he sold the Fletcher copy to the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, which in turn sold it to Lincoln collector Justin G. Turner of Hollywood, California. Sometime later, Turner also acquired Townsend's other copy. In 1968 Victor B. Levit purchased the Logan copy from a sale of Turner's collection at a Charles Hamilton Autographs, Inc., auction. Mr. Levit of the law firm of Long & Levit in San Francisco still owns the Logan copy and very kindly sent me much of the information on which this article is based.



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FIGURE 6. Stephen T. Logan.





